

Message Text

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C O R R E C T E D COPY: ORIGINAL RELEASED SUBJ TO CORRECTION

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, CH, KS, JA
SUBJECT: KISSINGER VISIT PAPER ON KOREA, SEOUL COMMENT

REF: TOKYO 14745

1. SUMMARY: VIEWED FROM PERSPECTIVE OF U.S. OBJECTIVE TO PROVIDE LONG-TERM SECURITY OF NORTHEAST ASIA, ADAPTING TO JAPAN'S "SLOW GLIDE TOWARD PYONGYANG" DOES NOT APPEAR TO CONSTRUCTIVELY ADVANCE U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS. I RECOMMEND SECRETARY, IN TALKS WITH GOJ LEADERS FOLLOWING PEKING TRIP, STRESS IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY AND NEED FOR CLOSE COORDINATION OF APPROACHES TO PYONGYANG IN ORDER TO AVOID DISORDER AND DISTRUST AMONG FRIENDLY COUNTRIES CONCERNED WITH NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO KOREAN PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

2. JAPANESE "SLOW GLIDE TOWARD PYONGYANG" SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE NORTH KOREAN, SOVIET AND CHINESE INTRANSIGENCE THAN TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND BARGAINING. SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WILL REQUIRE THAT BOTH WE AND THE JAPANESE INSIST ON FAIR AND BALANCED DIPLOMATIC SCENARIO VIS-A-VIS OREA. THE HISTORY OF DEALING WITH NORTH KOREANS REVEALS THEM TO BE AMONG MOST INTRANSIGENT AND HOSTILE NATIONS IN WORLD. CONCESSIONS OF NATURE JAPANESE NOW APPEAR TO BE

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CONSIDERING WILL INTRODUCE DIVISIVE ELEMENT AMONG FRIENDLY

NEGOTIATORS, ENCOURAGE UNACCEPTABLE NORTH KOREAN AMBITIONS, AND TEND TO DESTABILIZE SITUATION ON KOREAN PENINSULA. ON OTHER HAND, BY JOINTLY INSISTING ON REASONABLE RECIPROCITY WE WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE MODERATE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE PRC AND THE SOVIET UNION WHO IN POSITION TO ARGUE MOST EFFECTIVELY THAT CONCESSIONS FAVORABLE TO NORTH KOREA CAN ONLY BE WON BY RECIPROCAL CONCESSIONS BY NORTH KOREA AND ITS ALLIES.

3. MOREOVER, BOTH WE AND JAPANESE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT GOK IS, ACCORDING TO ALL SIGNALS WE GET HERE, UNACCEPTABLE TO THE ROK AS AN INTERLOCUTOR. ADDITIONALLY, WE HAVE SEEN HERE IN RECENT DAYS EXTREMELY SHARP REACTION AT HIGHEST LEVELS OF ROK TO SUGGESTIONS THAT JAPANESE ARE GETTING OUT IN FRONT AND MAKING UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS TO NORTHERN SIDE CONSIDERED HARMFUL TO LONGER TERM FRIENDLY NEGOTIATING POSITION. NORTH KOREANS CLEARLY COVET CONTACTS WITH U.S. AND JAPAN AT ANY LEVEL, OFFICIAL OR UNOFFICIAL. IF THEY ARE ENCOURAGED BY SLOW EROSION OF JAPANESE RESISTANCE TO CONTACT TO BELIEVE THAT FULL DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION IS ONLY A MATTER OF A RELATIVELY SHORT WAIT, THE NORTH KOREANS WILL HAVE LITTLE INCENTIVE TO OFFER THE KINDS OF CONCESSIONS WHICH THE JAPANESE CLAIM TO BE THE OBJECT OF THE EXERCISE, I.E. A DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH KOREA.

4. FINALLY, WITH FULL DEFERENCE TO CAREFUL ANALYSIS IN REFTTEL, I WOULD NOTE THAT U.S.-JAPAN CONSULTATIVE PROCESS ALSO DESIGNED TO BROADEN JAPANESE UNDERSTANDING OF ADVERSE IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICALLY SELF-SERVING ACTIONS ON WIDER QUESTIONS INVOLVING U.S. AND JAPANESE NATIONAL SECURITY. IN PAST, WE WERE OFTEN FACED WITH TENDENCIES AMONG SOME JAPANESE TO SUCCUMB, UNDER DIET-PRESS PRESSURES, TO ACTIONS ESSENTIALLY INIMICAL TO OWN MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY AS RELATED TO KOREA. IT WAS EXPERIENCE THAT, IN THESE INSTANCES, GOK PROVED RESPONSIVE WHEN FACED WITH STRONG STATEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIONS. WHILE PRESENT MIKI GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY MORE INCLINED TOWARD SOFT POSITIONS THAN PREDECESSORS, STAKES IN KOREA WOULD APPEAR SUFFICIENTLY HIGH TO AVOID POSTURE OF ADJUSTING OUR POLICY TO ACCORD WITH MIKI GOVERNMENT'S "SLOW GLIDE," ON REASONABLE PREMISE THAT MIKI IS NOT PERMANENT FIXTURE OF JAPANESE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE.

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5. I RECOMMEND THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER IN CONVERSATIONS

WITH JAPANESE LEADERS, EMPHASIZE THAT WHILE U.S. SHARES JAPANESE OBJECTIVE OF EASING TENSIONS IN KOREAN PENINSULA, THIS CAN ONLY BE DONE IF ROK INTERESTS REMAIN FULLY PROTECTED, WHICH REQUIRES INSISTENCE ON PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY. WE WOULD HOPE ALSO THAT JAPANESE WOULD CLOSELY COORDINATE WITH

U.S. ANY MOVE IN THIS AREA. THERE SHOULD BE NO PREMATURE
UNCOORDINATED CONCESSIONS TO THE NORTH KOREANS WHICH WILL
PERMIT THEM AND THEIR ALLIES TO PLAY U.S. AND JAPAN OFF
AGAINST EACH OTHER AND WEAKEN OUR ENTIRE POSITION IN THIS
AREA. MEANWHILE, WE (THE U.S. AND JAPAN) SHOULD FOCUS OUR
ATTENTION AND OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON STRENGTHENING OUR
OWN HAND, AND THE HAND OF THE ROK, FOR PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS.
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